blood],[85] so that they certified those whom they followed.[86] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[87] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tozcco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[89] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[91]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[92] the stout traveling staves[93] with

tenca, yujc motlamauhtilitia: qujnnocalititia, qujnnamjquj in tiacauan, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti:

yuan in inquichti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tladlamati, moquichnequj, moquichnemequj, amjquinmauhque, tenca momoztlanj, iaeclavelilloque: vncan moiniccoaia, moiaomamachtiania, yn juh mjcalinque iaepan, vmpa mocacaoaia yn aiac, mjtoaia totocco.

Auh yn tatecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan catcalaquj, no tladaoa: tzapeicpalpan tlalilo, qujmochoicuncatia, qujeiochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujxtlaoantia.

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixtencuitia: qujtoa, ma xjctlamanilic, in totec, iquac tlacaxipenaliztli.

In ixechichioal, mixcolnochimale, tzonxaaltic vltica, yiopitzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacainuatl, yiecuio malli, tzonchaiaoale, tzucujtlanacoche, tzapocueie, tzitzila, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca intuh catca: tenca qujmavirtilitia, qujtlaquentiaia amatica: yn jntepil, ymotlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj

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85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este fiesta, hazian como un juego de cañas: de manera que el un vando, era de la parte deste dios, e yuanse del dios totec: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que auian muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y esforçados, y personas valerosas, y esforçadas: que no temian en nada la muerte: estos, atrauiesan, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los unos, con los otros, se acometian, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauan los unos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" *Cf.* also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se coge para dardos con la zarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Bibliotecа del Palacio, Sahn, Etnija Kapitel*, has uncan in the Aztec text, jammed *ol aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Tozcoco."

87. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian vnos sobre otros, a los cuales llamauan Tzonteco.*" *Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tzonteco as "*los cuentos a honra del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *MS Bibliotecа del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mixpalchiahtiuc*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Translation of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mixpal-huahuiac* (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Thepanec), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

90. "The word chimmauh means 'whosoever anything is made among.' Wand and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chimpanzee with the four legs projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Translation of the Aubin Collection*, p. 100.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *tiacat-tecutli* or *yacatecutli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 27). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 27) says he also was named *Yacatecuhqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz agudeha*"); Francisco Javier Clavijero, in *Historia antigua de Mexico* (Mexico: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiuntecutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Ixcuinquhqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una caña, muyzca, que ellos llaman vilaci. Y tambien traen de otra manera de hazes,*

776 463 464 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penance, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus spent, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and bruise feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

nuelacteuia, inclã cuchiuque, vncan quiçiãquetza, iquan tlamacaca, mjyo, quiçiçãlomjlia, yaje quiçtlaubtia yn jtecuh yiacatecutli, yaje quiçtlanjlia, yaje quimattaquilia, yuicnelilia:

nenjan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic nomaca, puchuca yiaque: inch canque, yn inca inenuh, yiacatecutli:

Ommoca, mmmc calaquijuj, vel quimacatinemj, in tlein quimmanahuitique, mmmtl quiçaquilotinemj, mmmtl quiçlacatectinemj,

tmalcioubtinemj, hecacioubtinemj, mocioubquabtinemj, mocioubpoubtinj, elcicioubtinj, mocioubqueztinj, ymellelocitioub, youiquin tlatlatiub, inmmal quimacujtinj, inmmalomjub inioub:

intlacotl quiçaxnjcotinemj, atlauhtli, tapotl, quiçmoquja, quiçtlacuaja, inquichca ma: inmallcpi, inteupan ic tlatlacça, ic moquequetza:

vel quiçtiuvj vel quihiuuja, yaic quiçtomoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçmalli, in tocujcitlatl: in tepeçan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtototl, in tzotli, çaçan: quauhtli, in tequmecatl, yn ocelopetlatl.

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que se vee cubo negro lindeno, mantiene sus dedos siempre: que se come pescado, de las que se ven en espeño." Cloth, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.) London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Tocuepaoanda (*op. cit.*, 37-8) says they gathered the stones all together, gave with a clabber, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (*ynnemacac calaquinj*) (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1109, Seler names "*Yiacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Ipotzteutli ('der Herr der Wegzugangenen') war der Gott der Kaufmannschaft oder der ostwärts ziehenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Quauhtan in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtotol*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 350, to the *Nonohualcatzonco*, appears to refer to a people or class of merchants inferior in rank to the Pochteca

[103] dialogue.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan cerca de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún names "*Tuluteca hasta Anáhuac, que dista mas de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Estendose en la provincia de Anáhuac, su todos, cinco apellidos que dan de parte del setior de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . dan todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tuxtepec. En un pueblo se dividian, unos dan a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros dan a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the area of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llamaron quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir pluma muy verde, y tzitli piedra de naranja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Turquesas, quiere decir turquesas de las dieses . . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mistela y muy lucida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que cria en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobligansse cuando las trea el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El tecuelo que tiene en la cabeza este ave (quetzaltotol) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llaman a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandecientes; a proprias estas plumas y llámanlo tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas prosimas que tiene cridas en el pecho y en los cabestes y debajo de las alas; son la mitad verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzoquechol* means red quetzalli or precious quechalli. It is an egretic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives names as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 653). Cloth, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 37n., gives *Platalea Ajaja rosea* L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtotol* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta S. Cuvieras* (*ibid.*, p. 634). Cloth (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould.*

103. San Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) resaltan el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llamas de fuego y cosas asi, crianse en Anáhuac.*"

776
463
484
[439]

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they removed lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[186] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[187][But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[188] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[189] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[190] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomquiauitl, or Chalmecacioatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[191] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They have them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in pectecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquaxjtl, yn xiuhcaxitl:

[439]

intlanel iautilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalitica, in tezintica, in tlaxoltica quintlachecalhuja in chaneque.

[292]

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan quinpolomjctia, quinchillatilia: ça acx, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nõ ymatiltanpa quiça, ihoatl quinalnonotzaia in motecuçuma:

[263]
[265]

ic vncan quimaca, caquilia, yapoçmaltenteuh, yc quimaviviotia, ic quinezcaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oquichoia.

[431]
[301]
[301]

Auh yn iquac oalacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecurpal oquichiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: inquich tlacatl quinotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic monnititaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca quimavitilitia yn itopil, yn jtlaçaia yiacatecutli:

776

cana in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, quitlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

796
[778]

Auh intla aca tealtia, ihoatl caltitaia, quixeoaia in jtzouh yiacatecutli: anoço cenca ishoantin yn mochcoaia, in quinmocetilaia in chicuquejxujtl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomocuj, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzauac, a/ac quiiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca aleix tlacatl:

vmpa conicovaia yn tlacatecujloca azcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, quincuecuepa, quimjhitta, yn qualtin quincaxque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn axle intlaciuh ca:

776
796
567

ynjc ihuan quinmictique, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhuiquiztililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac quipachichioaia, quintlamamaca, intech quitlalia yn jubquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn iuamo quinmjctia, achtopa quinteititiaia: mjtoa quinmjnextia, ic quitemachitia in tealtiaque:

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186. *Cf.* Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 77): Yuanahuhqui *"proprissimo vocablo para significar persona, que tiene virtud, ó habilidad, para imitar qualesquiera, ó engañar, y es sabio, y cauto (que es propio condicion de Mercaderes)* . . . ."

187. *Cf.* Soler (*Lengua Kapeid*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colib. Mss.* B. II §83.

188. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hazia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

189. Sahagún defines *calpolli* as *"vgloria del barrio, ó parrochia"* (Spanish version).

190. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: *"Estos dueños que matauan a estos esclauos."*—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

191. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Soler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 93) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomquiauitl or Chalmecacioatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 643 292 648 Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

● 484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman quitoque, ca vmpa in mexico tiasllaque.

Quinoalnanquilique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Quimonjlhuique. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic quinmaca in jxquitlamantli quitquique tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, ichoatl in, in njcã motenteoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tescapocio:

in jxquitlamãtli in in quimõmacaque, quinoalcuepcaiotilique, quinoalmacaque coxcatl, xoxoctic, cuztic: iuhquinma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcuique, in oquittaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan quinoalnaoatiqua: quinoalilhuique: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazq tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca quiçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecenoal in oalnenenque, injc quinonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jvelia:a quilhuico, quicaquitico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oquicuito.

Auh njman ie ic quinonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlacili ca izcatquj otiquittaque, izcatquj otiechiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl ixco. Ca otiquimittato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jxquich motilmatzin otiquinmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatequitzi. Quitoque: intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anquimacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techixmatiz:

6. Spanish text: *los españoles dieron a los indios collar de cuentas, unas verdes y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "*en un dia, y en una noche.*"

8. Editor, *op. cit.*, p. 454, has *fuel luego*, translated "first of all."

Sixth Chapter. Here is told how the messengers of Moctezuma returned here to Mexico and came to relate to Moctezuma that which they had seen.

Therupon [Cortés] dismissed them, and let them descend to their boats. And when they had climbed down into the boats, they rowed with great force. Mightily did they ply their oars. Some paddled with their hands.

Fleeing with all their force, they came saying to one another: "O warriors, [use] all your strength! Row with haste, lest something here overtake us—lest something here befall us!"

Speedily they hastened to reach by water the place called Xicalanco; there they no more than quickly caught their breath, that once again they might with energy hasten on. Then they came to reach Tecpan tlayacac, whereupon they also hastened and hurried on, and soon came to reach Cuetlaxtlan. [From there] they likewise departed in haste, [having] in this place taken some rest.

And [those] of Cuetlaxtlan said to them: "Rest yet but a brief day; catch your breath!"

But they replied to them: "Nay, we may only go on swiftly. We must give the news to the lord, the ruler Moctezuma. We must tell him what we have seen, which is terrifying—the like of which hath never been seen. Had you, perchance, already, ere now, heard of it?"

Then they speedily departed from there and soon came to reach Mexico. It was deep night when they went reaching [the city]; they came in here quite by night.

And when this was happening, [Moctezuma] could enjoy no sleep, no good. Never could one speak to him. That which he did [was] only as if it were in vain. Ofttimes he sighed; he was spent, downcast. He felt delight in no savory morsel, joy, or pleasure.

Wherefore he said: "What will now become of us? Who, forsooth, standeth [in command]? Alas, until now, I. In great torment is my heart, as if run through with chili water, so that it burneth and

Injc chiquacen capitulo: vncã mjtoa, in quenjn ititlanoan Motecuçoma, oalmocuepque in njcan mexico qujlhujco in motecuçoma in quittaque.

Niman ie ic quincauh, quincoaltemovique in jm-502 acalco: auh in ovaltemoque acalco, njman ie ic tequjtlanclos, ontetemj in tlancloa, cequjntin matlanelos.

centlaquauh oalmotlaloa, quimolhujtivitze, tiacaoane ixqujch amotlapal, xitequjtlanelocan, ma itla njcan taxti ma itla njcan topan muchiuh

iciuhca acitivetzico in atl iitic in jtocaiocan xicalanco, çan tequjtl vncan oalihiocujtiquizq̃, ic ie no ceppa centlaquauh oaltotoca: njman acico in tecpan tlaiacac, njman ie no ic oalmeoaltia, oalmotlaloa, acitivetzico in cuetlaxtlan, çan no oalquiztiquizque, vncan ihiocuizque.

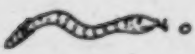
Auh in cuetlaxtecatl quimjlhuj ma oc cemjlhujtzintli ximocevicã ma oc-amjhio xiccujcan.

Auh quilhujque, ca amo ca çan ticiuhtivi tictononochilizque in tlacatl tlatoanj Motecuçoma, tictolhujlizque in tlein otiquittaque, in cenca temamauhti, in aic iuhquj omottac, cuix ie cuel ie teachto, toconcaquiz:

njman iciuhca oalpeuhque, acitivetzico in mexico, çan ioaltica in acico, çan oalioalcalaque.

Auh in jquac in aoquicochiz, aoquitlaqual quimatia, aoc ie quilhujaia in çaço tlein quichioaia, ça iuhquin nentlamatia, iuhquin achica elcicivi, mociauhquetza, mociauhpoa, aoc tle velic, aoc tle tepac, aoc tle tevialti ipan quimatia,

ipampa in qujtoaia, tlein ic topan muchioaz, ac nel icac, ha ieppa nehoatl, vel patzmjquj in noiollo, iuhquinma chilatequjlo, vel tonoca chichinaca campa nel totecue.



Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the ninth sign, called One Serpent.[1] It was considered a good day sign, if those same ones then born did not harm it. And the merchants expected much of it, because of their way of livelihood.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicunauhtetl machioti, in jtoca ce coatl: quilmach qualli tonalli: intlacamo çan iehoantin quitlaconque in vncan tlacati: auh in puchteca cenca qujmatatacaia, in jpampa in jnnetlaiecoltiliz.

One Serpent set in. It was said to be a good day sign. Of one born on it, they said his deserts and merits would be to become wealthy. There would be wherewith to eat and drink. And in war, in time of battle, he would become a brave warrior and a chieftain; he would attain renown, honor, glory, and fame. Perchance he would be a ruler or a lord. And if it were a woman, she would be quite rich; she would be a good provider; she would be well-born. She would look to and guard the services and the property of our lord. She would be a guardian and administrator. Much would she gather, collect, save, and justly distribute among her children.

Moquetza ce coatl: injn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: in aquin ipã tlacatia, quitoaia: ilhujle, maceoale iez, mocujltonoz, oniez in qujquaz, in quiz, auh in iaoc, in iaopan, oquichtiz, tiacauhtiz, momaviçoaz panvetziz, maviçoaz, moteniotiz, aço tlatocatia, tecutiz, auh intla cioatl, vel motlacamatiz, vel motlaiecoltiz, vel motlacatiz, quittaz, quipiaz in jteicneliliz, in jcocauh totecuio, tlaçalonanj, tlapachoanj iez. vel quintlaçalhuiz, quintlapachilhuiz, quintetzontiz, quintlatlamachiz in jpilhoan,

But it was also said that although such became the deserts of one then born (as is already said in many places), if he did not diligently do penance, if he paid not good heed, he indeed failed, and personally brought upon himself that he lost through neglect, and destroyed and ruined what were his deserts. This was because he neglected things, worked unwillingly, was lukewarm, and lacked forethought and diligence. Indolent, he let nothing be done. He was careless, exceedingly careless, slothful, negligent, listless, and slow; a great and heavy sleeper. And he was incorrigible. He would only neglect things through laziness; advice offended and angered him.

auh ioan mjtoa, maçivi in iuhquj in inemac mochioa, in jpan tlacati (ca ie omjto mjeccan) intlacamo iẽ vellamaceoa, intlacamo vel motlotza, catle vnquiça, ca ixcoian conmocuiilia, quimjxcaoaltia, quimopolhuja, quimopopolhuja, in jmacegal ocatca: ipampa içan tlatlacomati, tlazvilmati, tlaquelchioa, tlatlacanequj, quitenmati, acontlaeltia, aiel atle conmochichioaltia, vel cujtlatzcopic, cujtlatzcocopic, cujtlananaca, cujtlaçotlac, cujtlatzol, quitenmatirl, cochpal, cochmjmjl: ioan auel monotza, çan quitenmati, quiquammati, quitlauelchioa, in tlatolli,

So it was said of him: "So he is; he made no provision for food, for there was constant running about." There was no getting to bed, no arising; he stretched his limbs, quite exhausted by fatigue and effort. To no purpose did he give or publicly display wealth and prosperity, and the joys and comforts of wealth.

iehoatl injc mjtoa: ca nel amaxcauja, in qualonj, ca netotoquililo, amo neteteco, amo nequequetzalo: vel izquich maana, vel ontlamj in ciauiztli, in tlapaliuiztli, amo çan motenemaca, amo çan teixpanvetzi, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli, in netlacamatiliztli, in netlacamachiliztli.

And it was said that on One Serpent the merchants and vanguard merchants,[2] the exploring

ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce coatl, cenca quiquallittaia in puchteca, in oztomeca, in jaque, in nẽnemjnj, in

1. In the MS, apparently *ce ayahual* has been corrected to read *ce coatl*.
2. *V. supra*, Chap. 12.

merchants[3] and traveling men, those who entered distant lands, regarded [the day] as very favorable. It was their day sign and time count, when [a merchant] took to the road and set forth to far lands.

And he who was about to set forth, when he had prepared himself and filled and made ready the carrying-frames, then summoned, gathered, assembled together, assembled together,[4] and notified his elders, the old merchants. They were given drink, food, and wine, in order to make it publicly known that this one now wished to depart and go hence; to break away; that he still wished to abandon the people and disappear. And, it was said, he still wished to be extinguished from view for a time. In this way he made it clear to the people; he made it very clear to the people. That is to say, it was well known to those who yet tarried in their homes, to those who went nowhere.

vecacalaqujnj, intonalpan catca, intlapoalpan catca, iehoatl qujttivia, vncan vmpeoaia in veca:

auh in aqujn ie vmpeoaz in omochichiuh, in otlacacaxten, in otlacacaxchichiuh: njman tetlalhuja, qujncentlalia, qujnnechicoa, qujnnechicoa, qujnmachitia in jveveiovan, in puchteca veuetque, atlioa, tlaqualo, tlaoano, injc teixpan motlalia, in aqujn ie oncholoteoaznequj, ie onmoquetzteoaznequj, ie oncuecuetzteoaznequj, in oc ontetlalcaujznequj, oc ompoliuhtoznequj, ioan mjtoa: oc onmjxcuijznequj, quexquich caujtl injc teixco ovevetz, omach teixcovevetz, qujteaznequj cenca ie macho, in jc ie vecaoa ichan, in jc aoccampa iauh.

3. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371.

4. In the MS, *quinnechicoa* is repeated.

The Seventeenth Chapter telleth of the admonitions of the old merchants when they counseled their sons as they were about to depart and gain their livelihoods in distant places, when for the first time they wished to go and set forth.

Inje exxtolli omome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in intenonotzaliz puchteca, in veuetque, in quimjlhojaia inpiilhoan, in jquac ie oncoazque, in veca motlaiecoltizque, in quin jioqu iaanequj, vmpeoaznequj.

And then the old men besought each one; they greeted, animated, and encouraged him; they prepared and aingled him out; they greeted him with tears, prepared him to receive misery and torment, etc.

Auh njman ic ceceiaca quitlatlauhtia in veuetque: quitlapaloa, quitzhicaoa, quellaquaoa, quitetziloa, ico quilpia, quichoquiztlapaloa, quitlaquammaca in netoiinjlizth, in tlathioviliztli. Etc.

They said to him: "Thou art here, O my son, my beloved son; O youth, my beloved youth! O noble youth, thou hast sought out, beckoned to, and summoned thy mothers and fathers, the merchants, the vanguard merchants, the exploring merchants. Verily, here thou lookest into their faces; thou knowest them. Ah! They will leave and offer thee a word of advice and counsel. This they have carried and borne; it tutored and trained,[1] so that they benefited in such places as the mountains and the deserts.

Quilhuja ca njcan tonca nopiltze, nopiltzine, telpuchtle, notelputze, telputztze: ca otiquimnotemo, otiquimontzatzili, otiquimonnenotzallan, in monoan, in motahoan, in puchteca, in ixtomeca, in iaque: ca njcan imjaco, ymjcpac, titlachia, tiquimonjximati, i mjtzcaviliaque, i mjtzmacazque in cententli, yn cencamatl, in jntlatquja, yn jntlamamaia, in jntlacaxcaltiaia, in jntlacaoapaoaia, inje otlamaviçoque, in iuhcan in quauhtla, in çacatla:

"And this is the word of advice and counsel with which I console thee, who art my beloved son. So I become thy mother and father; so thou hast me as protector and comforter. Thou who art poor shalt already set forth from and leave the city, thy home — Mexico, Tlatilulco, or Tenochtitlan. Already thou art about to abandon and forsake thy kinsmen; already thou art about to abandon thy home, the rooms of thy house, thy homeland, the resting-place of thy head, thy child's crib, thy hair-tuft. Already thou comest to One Serpent, the straight way, the wide road;[2] already thou followest along and goest toward the desert and the plain.

auh inju ca njcan cententli, cencamatl, ic njmjtzjollalia, ic njmjtzchicaoa in tinopiltzin, inic njmona, njmota, inje timonanmati, inje timotamati: timotolinja, ca ie tonmoquetzaz, ie tocontlalcaviz in altepetl, in mochan in mexico, in tlatilulco, anoço in tenuchtitlan, ie tiquimoncauhtiaz, ie tiquimôcauhteoaz, in mocauiolque: ie tontlacauhteoaz in mochan, in mocalitic, in moquizcan, in moiolcan ỹ moquechtetzon ionocan, in momanaoal, anôço monatetzon, ie toconnamjquja in ce coatl, in vtli melaoac, in vchpantli, ie tocontocaz, ie tocennamjquja in jxtlaoatl, in vei tlalli.

"Wretched art thou, O my son, O youth! Exert all thy force. Where, in sooth, shalt thou live? Shalt thou perchance die here? O that somewhere the

Timotolinja nopiltze, telpuchtle, ma ximellaquaoa, can nel timonemjtia? cuix njcan timomjqujlia? ma cana ixtlauhto, popouhto: in inchoquja, in jntlaocol,

1. Cf. Angel Maria Garibay K.: *Llave del nahuatl* (Otumba: Imprenta Mexik, S. A., 1940), p. 109, for one of [illegible] chuquia, chuquiztia, chuquiztlahtia, and chuquipanoia could be rendered as "protection." Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 211, and Simeon, *op. cit.*

2. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), II, 3, 5: "Ca cuxtl ooli melaoac, *que es una de las cuatro características o signos de la vida bienaventurada.*"

tenes, the pity of thy elders, the old ones, may go as reward and recompense, to gird and clothe them. For[a] thus did thy elders go. For they went learning of war, performing the way of life of the road. So with struggle they gained and sought [honors] from him by whom we live. So they prayed.[b]

"But [as for] this: then to it! Be covered and engulfed by torment. For now shalt thou come to know, feel, and deal exclusively with misery, hunger, starvation, thirst, emptiness,[c] fatigue.[d] For verily thy provisions have ended—that with which one hath traveled. Perhaps thou shalt chew dry tortillas—parched tortillas, wretched, tough-cooked things, ill-smelling tamales. Perhaps thou shalt drink sour, bitter water, dirty and foul.

"And verily, thou shalt draw near to, approach, and come against the menacing river, which seemeth a torrent, roaring and crashing as it sweepeth by. It carrieth everything with it and goeth destroying great trees. And there shalt thou wait some days; thou shalt be isolated by the water; thou shalt suffer with thy pangs of hunger and unrest.

"If thou wouldst gain honor by such as this, O my son, be not shameless; do not faint; be not womanish. Give thyself completely to the torment; enter into it; deliver thyself to it with all thy force, so preparing for it, etc. For verily thou seekest and travelest into such places as thy elders, the old men, served. For they thus hurled themselves at and delivered to torment, and exposed themselves to danger and adversity. For not without reason did the merchants take and find leadership and the wisdom of old age, become leaders, and receive their authority in exchange.

"And of this, O poor youth, if something should be thy reward and deserts, if our lord should show esteem by something for thee, thou must first feel and profit by the pain, the afflictions, the privations, the ambushes. Such is exacted from those who go from city to city. Yet there will be times of need. Thou shalt become tired and worn out; thou shalt stand exhausted; thou shalt go wearied by heat, spent by winds. Thy face will become dust-covered and

in motechiuhcaoan, in veuetque: in ajcan ic mjcxpana, ic mjtzaqujmjlco: a ciuhtiquc in motechiuhcaoan, ca iuiocuh, inthechinol oquimomaque, oquichiuhtiaque in vtli, in nemamjlizttli, injc oquijtlamatzaqujlitiaque oquitlaithanjlitiaque in tloque in naoque, injc ixillan, inacatlan onmamaxuhtiaque:

auh inju, macuelc tiualinj, ma xoconmjmalo in tlalhiiouilizttli, ca ie tocnmatiz, ie toconjxcuajx, ie teoxocnamatiz in nenolinjlizttli, in apixmjqujlizttli, in teociujlizttli, in amjquilizttli, in atetzcoxoqujlizttli, in ciammjquilizttli: auh in nel otlatlan in motacatzin, in motlatocaia: cujx a ticmoquahtiz, in tlaxcalquappitztli, in tlaxcalhotopochtli, in totopochxinoli, in tamalliacxtxintli: auh cujx a ticmjtiz in xococ atl, in alchichic, in tlaelatl, in aztoatl.'

Auh ca itech tacitiuh, itech tipechiuitiuh, itech timoxoxotzonatiuh in temamauhti atl, in iuhquj colonj, in iuhquj tetecujcatiuh xxxamacatiuh ic iauh, in moch quijujca quixtzincuhtiuh, vevei quauitl: auh ca vncan tiquenquilhuitiz, timotzaquaz, tithalhiiouiz in mocuitlaxcolhica, in monetequiliztica:

intla ticmaujcaz, in iuhquj in, nopiltzc, ma titlapinauhti, ma titlacuecuetlaxo, ma timocciocuitlamachti, iê xicmocenmaca, itlan xaquj, xicmotlaquammaca, ic ximotetzilo in tlalhiiouilizttli. Et.[e] ca nel ie in tictemoa, ca ie in tictotocac, ca iuhcan otlacotique in motechiuhcaoan, in veuetque, ca ic onmomotlaque oquimomacaque in tlalhiiouilizttli: injc amo oquitlaçotlaque in intzontecon, yn jmelchiqujuh, ca amo cacujque quinencujque injc oquittaque in tachcauhiotl, in veuiotl, injc ie petlati, ie icpalti, injc ie contlanevi in jnpetl, in jmicpal in puchteca.

Auh in y, timotolinja telpuchtle, intla itla mocnopil, momaxcoal mochioaz intla itla ipan mjtzpoaz totecujo: ca oc toconjttaz, oc toconmaujçaz in tococo, in tetolinj, in tiecolizttli, in teixcacpa quiquja: in iuh quimotzaqua in aoacan, tepeoacan: cij oc vmpa onquiçaz, ticiamjquiz, timociappoaz, timociauhquetztiaz, titonalciauhtiaz, teecaciauhtiaz, tixtlahtxin timochiuhtiaz, tixtlahtcuhpipixcauhtiaz, mjxquatxin tlatlatiaz, mjtonaltxin ticmacujtiaz, vel tima-

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a. *Real Palacio MS.* 22.

b. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y en esto, ganaron la honra que merecieron: como la ganan los hombres valientes, en la guerra, con estos trabajos, ahumentos de nuestro señor, los alcanzan que dezimos." Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii, fol. 240v (swallow, consecutive equip).

c. *Atetzcoxoquiliztli*: *gruhkiinnitzli*, *o se estomacallí aquél*?

d. Corresponding Spanish text: "el mantenimiento que se acabando, y dizelo adonde: para subir los trabajos, que se suben ejercitados: que son, hambre, y sed, y cansancio, y falta de mantenimientos."

doubly white. Thy forehead will burn; thou shalt wipe the sweat off with thy hand; indeed thou shalt be bathed [in it]. In the corner, by the wall, behind the door, thou shalt hang thy head. Thy stomach will stick to thee [from hunger].[7]

"Thou shalt go into, entering, and leaving, city after city. Thou shalt be in danger; it will not be well with thee. That is to say, perchance it will not prosper; perhaps thy stock of goods, thy just deserts, thy dealings, will not result well. Thou shalt be long-suffering; thou shalt shed tears. Thy good deeds will not bear fruit, for fatigue will take thy measure. Indeed, thy breath and courage will end.[8]

"Perhaps somewhere in a gorge, at the mouth of a canyon, on some high place, at the base of a rock, at the foot of a tree, shalt thou sleep. Perchance somewhere thou shalt be destroyed; our lord will end thy existence. And perhaps thou shalt never come to make thy way back. For no one knoweth.

"Yet may it be well with thee. Go praying to our lord for mercy. Be not negligent. Think only of and be dedicated to penances. Be diligent in providing water for the washing of the face and hands, and in sweeping and gathering up rubbish.[9]

"Leave no one behind thee, etc.[10] Do not take to thy feet leaving one unaided behind thee. That is to say, do not go retreating in haste, running to the rear, fleeing in battle, following thy nose back. Remember one thing: go knowing, devoted, and dedicated to suffering. Perhaps he by whom we live will give thee something as thy deserts and merit.

"Perhaps once more thy mothers, thy fathers, and thy kinsmen will look thee in the face. Verily, what thou shalt eat and drink will be the advice we here give thee. For with all this we gird, fortify, and bind thee. We thy mothers and fathers implore thee: pay good attention; look well; take care, O my son. Go in peace, leaving thy aunts and uncles, etc."

In this manner did they animate and encourage the one not yet much experienced—who perhaps liviz in texomolo, in tecaltech, in tetlatzacujltitlan, timotoioltitiez, mocujtlazcol motech monetecatiez,

timâquiz, timocacalaquiz, timoqujqujxtiz: in xoacan, tepeoacan, timotzotzonaz, timocacapanjz, qujtonequj: ac aço can tle uel onmochioaz, ac aço can tle onmaqujtiz in motiamjc, in mocnopillo, in monentlatiatia, ca uel icnoioaz in moiollo, mjxaiotzin ticmatentiez: amo ticaxcanviz, in mocneliloca, ca timjhiiotamachioaz, vel ontlamjz in mjhiio in motlapaliuiz:

in aço cana atlauhitic, atlauhcamac, tlacopac, tetl itzintlan, quavitl itzintlan timocochitiz, in aço cana timopopoliujtiz, mjtztlatiz totecujo: auh in anoço mjloch, monecuepal ticchioaqujuh: caiac vntlamati,

ma oc iẽ moiolic: xicnootlaocolnonochilitiuh in totecujo, ma timoxiccauh, ma xoconjxcauj, xocõcenmati in tlamaceoalitzli, xicmocujtlauj in tecatzapaqujlitzli, in temãtequjlitzli: auh in tlachpanalitzli, in tlacujcujlitzli,

macamo ce mõnjca, moteputzco xiqual. Er.[a] macamo ce mõnjca, moteputzco xiqual. Ez.[a] macamo cenjcampa, moteputzco xiqualquetztiuh in mocxi, qujtonequj, macamo xitzintlaçatiuh, macamo xitzinqujxtiuh, macamo xitzinqujzacatlaiecotiuh, xioalnacaxixtiuh, maca tle xiqualiinamjctiuh: ma çan centlamjc xococnamattiuh, ma xococencmattiuh, xoconixcauxtiuh, in tlaihiioujlitzli, açida mjtzmâcoaltin, mjtzilhujltiz in tloque, naoaque:

açoc ceppa mjxco, mocpac tlachiazque in monaoan, in motaoan, in mooaniolque: ca tioquaz, ca tiquiz in ajcan ic timjtznonotza, a ixquich ic timjtzonâpana, timjtzontetzilos, aco timjtzilpia in timonaoan, in timotaoan, timjtztlatlauhtia, tlẽ ticmati, tle ticmomachitia, tlẽ ticmatcatzintli nopiltze, ma iiolic ximovicatiuh, xiqujnootlalcauj in maujoĩ in motlaoan. Er.[a]

Ivin in quellaquaoaia, in quichicaoaia, in aiamo ezneca ixtlamati, in aço quin jiopa tevica, moervicaltia,

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7. *Ibid.*: "*rendreys la lumiga pegado a las esquilles de hombre.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*Y dezese dezir, es affigirse la dicha de la vuestra de vuestros merescimientos: que por ventura no se vendremos, y dezes vendreys trabaxos, y llorar: cerca q[ue] el abrimado alguna cosa[illegible], o buena ventura: aunque dize ser affligido, y trabajado, hasta la ultima de pasamiento.*"

9. *Ibid.*: "*aviendo barrefuerte a los susperos en essas hendidas: cerca se dize agua a menos, y barrer, &c.*"

10. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," p. 40; Sahagún, *Historia General*, p. 294 (*dize hasta, Señor de [nombre de dios]*); Ballesteros, *op. cit.*, p. 332 (*imperfectamente*). *Por ultimo, todo siguiente[illegible] es a similar term.* The text is garbled, as is true in the Aztec versions of the MS.

441
484

for the first time went with and was one of a company of others [going to] places of which he wished to know, and departing for distant lands. Yet everywhere they cared for him, teaching and instructing him with these words. In such places as the forests and deserts he realized the estate of merchant or vanguard merchant.[11]

in canpa ie ontlamatiznequj, injc ie vmpeoa vcca, oc noviian quinemjtia, qujtlâtlantiia, qujtlâtlachieltia in jntlatoltica, in iuhcan quauhtla, çacatla in amaxcanvia in puchtecaiotl, in oxtomecaiotl.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "Desta manera los mercaderes viejos, a los mancebos: que tuuiessemos piedad con otros mercaderes, o tierras estrañas a mercadear: los hablauan, y esforçauan: y porque dexasse sus trabajos, y dificultades, en que se mojan de sudor, assi en los poblados, como en los desiertos en la prosecucion de su oficio, de mercaderia."

Eighteenth Chapter. Here are told [what] the talk and discourse were of these same old merchants which they repeated to their sons who already knew distant lands.

Iljc caxtolli vnei capitulo: vncan motenteoa in tlatolli, in intenonotzalis catca, in çan ie no ichoantin, puchteca veuetque, in quinjlhuja in inpilhoan in ie onmatia veca.

And [as for] him who already many times had returned and come back from there and who already had beheld such [distant] places as the inhabited and populated areas, dangerous and ominous places, places of torment, they said little to him; only something well-chosen, measured,[1] approved, complimentary, discreet, agreeable, moderate, pleasing, and commending. No more was it very long and extended; no more on all occasions did they speak, nor annoy him, nor speak lightly, nor harangue inconsiderately.

Auh in aquin ie mjiecpa iloti, ie mjiecpa mocuepa, in ie onjtztica in iuhcan inentla, inemja, in ouican, in temamauhtian, in tlaihiioujlizitlan: ça quexquich in qujlhuja, ca eecauhquj, ca ixiecauhquj, ça tlaiecolli, ça tlauelittalli, ça tamachiuhqui, ça tlaqualittalli, ça ipan qualli, ça ipan tlauelittalli, ça ipan tlaiecolli, aocmo cenca viiac, aocmo cenca vitlatztic, aocmo cenca noviian ontlatoa, aocmo noviian qujnemjtia, aocmo çan ilhujztlatoa, aocmo ça iliviz tlatetza:

Only this did they say to him: "Here thou art, O youth. No more art thou a child; no longer art thou like one afraid. For already thou hast regarded and witnessed thy dust-covered places, thy explored places, thy traveled areas which thou hast wished to know.

ça izquich in qujlhuja. Ca njcan tonca telpuchtle: ca aocmo tipiltontli, aocmo tiuhquj titenmachonj, ca ie tonjztica, ie tontlachixtica, ie mjxtlalopan, ie mjxnentla, ie mjxonjcac, in vmpa tontlamatiznequj,

"In such places as forests, deserts, and cities, there is nothing to bring thee defeat, to frighten, daze, impede, or terrify thee. For already thou hast beheld all places, such as the markets, places where the merchants deal. Behold, we know not whether thy mothers and fathers lose thee forever. Perhaps thou goest for good; perhaps thou goest to be lost; perhaps somewhere into a canyon or a desert thou shalt be forced, and shalt perish; perchance in some city thou shalt come to an end. Perhaps once and for all thou art seen. Yet know and carry in thy heart that thou goest fortified by the tears and compassion of thy mothers and fathers. And if still something may become the reward of us, the old men, perhaps yet thou shalt come back and make thy return, that once more we may know thee.

in iuhcan in quauhtla, çacatla, in aoacan, in tepeuacã, aocmo tle ic tontlapolotiaz, aoc tle ic tonjxmmauhtiaz, tonjxmjmjctiaz, aoc tle mjztzicololtiz, aoc tle mjtzintlquetzaz: ca ic noviian tonjztica, in iuhcan in tlaiecoaian, in tlacotia in ostomeca: ca amo ticmati, anoço ie iccen mjtzixcaoa, in monaoan, in motaoan, aço ie iccen tiauh, aço ie cana tonuetziuh, aço cana atlauhtli, ixtlaoal itic timaquiltitoz, timopopoliujtitoz, aço cana tictlantoz in altepetl, aço ie cenmanian mjxco mocpac ontlitlachia, ca tel iuh quimattiuh in moiollo, ca moiollo itlan ietiuh, ca ic timellaquauhtiuh, yn jachoquiz, yn jntlaocol in monaoan, in motaoan: auh intla oquida tomiccoal, in tiveuetque, in açoc mjtech, monecuepal ticmochiujliqujuh, ca oc ceppa timjtzixinantinjc.

"And now, take care. Travel the road with caution, lest thou stumble upon something. For desolate,

Auh in azcan tlē ticmonachitia: ma iiolic xocnmotequjli in vtli, ma itla toconiccinamjc: ca amo

1. *Rinā Paleario MS: ge yuuuuchiqui, ge iuuuhuuuchiqui.*

441
484

ferocious, cruel, and peopled by evil men, spreadeth the wasteland.[1] Carefully thou shalt go taking by the hand, each of them, gathering in groups, ordering, assembling, and bringing together, thy younger brethren. Do not abandon them disdainfully. Advise them as thou goest, that they may take grass and reeds and with them fashion seats [for their elders], there at the places of rest. However, all this we have given — our sighs, our discourses — to such as teachers, forest people, desert people, merchants, travelers, etc. But no longer is it necessary to relate so much to thee. For here we only encourage thee somewhat. Little by little offer thyself to the torment. Use all thy force. Thou knowest what is required, O my beloved son."

When he had been supplicated, then he also returned a few words. Thus he answered and said:

"I thank you for the favor you have shown me, O brave men. You have left me consolation. Who am I? What am I that I deserve this short talk, your encouragement, your motherliness and fatherliness? For you have opened to me [counsel] which was in your bowels, your breasts, which lay resting, guarded, and folded like precious feathers well-curved and well-pointed; like a green stone, round and well-polished; like fine turquoise, well-rubbed and glistening. Doubtless I shall treasure you; for so, covering me, penetrating my bowels and my breast, and resting in my heart, go your fatherliness and motherliness, which are not due from you. Etc.

"But this I beg you. What will our lord grant? Perchance I shall yet come to look you in the face. For now I leave you. See to the sweeping and cleaning — the little tasks of sweeping, gathering of rubbish, and laying of fires. Let it not grow dark, nor rubbish stand cast about, in my humble house. Continue to do this. I go leaving only my beloved mother, my beloved great aunt, my beloved elder sister,[2] my beloved aunt, etc. For I go troubled and saddened on their account. Do your duty to them; advise them. Let no one make sport of them. Perchance our lord may somewhere destroy me. So all I thus entrust to you, and my heart is content."

tlacacemelletoc: ca tequanioteoc, motequanioteoc, amo tlaca onoc in çaxtl in tlaxtl, ma ivian in mastech xiquimonantiuh, xiquimondantiuh, xiquimonololotiuh, xiquimotepeyaiiuh, xiquimonocenquixtitiuh, xiquimõnechicoitiuh in moteiccauan: ma tiquimonnonicciuili, ma xiquimonnoxtiuh: inic conecuiliuque in çacatzintli, in pepetzintli: ioan inic conetlalililiuque, inxicpaltzin, in campa necuiloian, ca tel iuquich o, in otiquimacaque in tihiio, in totlatol, in iuhquj in tlacaoapoiaia, in quauhtlaca, in çacatlaca, in puchteca in jaique ez.[a] ca axcmo monequj in quexquich timitzcaquixtiuque, ca ça nican achitzin ic timitzonchicaua, ma iocuxca itlã xonmaquilti in tlaihiioviliztli, ma iuquich motlapaltzin, tle ticmonanchitis nopiltze:

in jquac otlatlauhtiloc, niman no ic cen camatzintli ic tlacuepa, ic tlanaoquilia, quitoa

Oannechmocnelilique in ocelioquichtle: otlacauhquj in amoiollotzin, ac nehoatl, ac njnomati, in njcan cen camatzintli njquicnopilhuja, yn amotechicaoalistzin, in amotenaniotzin, amoteiaiotzin, ca nocontlapoa in amoxillantzinco, amotocatlantzinco actica, in cepouhtoc, in cepoxioc, in cuelpachiuhtoc, in iuhquj quetzalli, in vel vitoliuhquj, in vel iaque, auh in iuhquj chalchiujtl, in oleliuhquj, in vel potlaoac, in iuhquj teoxiujtl, in tlamatilolli, in uel cuecuecioca, aço cana namechonnotlaxililin, ca ic nonnapantiuh, noxillan, notocatlan onactiuh, noiollo itlan onietiuh, in amonaiotzin, in amotaiertzin, in amono anquimaxcaujlique. Ez[a]

Auh inin ca namechonnotlatlauhtilia quĩ tlacauz in jiollotzin totecujo, açoc amjtzinco amocpactzinco njtlachiecquiuh ca ie namechonnotlacaujlia, ma ipan anmotlatoltzique in tlachpanalistli, in tlachpanalli, in tlachpanaltzintli in tlacujcujliztli, in tletlaliliztli: macamo ontlaiouticaz, tlaçolli onqujxticaz, l. onquixtoz, in nocnotzacalco, ma oc conjxcauj in ça iio nococnchuhtiuh in nonantzin, in noteçitzin, in nouelticatzin, in naujtzin. Ez.[a] ca ica nonnotequipachotiuh, ica nontlacocuitiuh, ma ipan anoalmoquixtique, ipan anmotlatoltique, ma caiac ica mocacaiaoaz, in aço cana nechmopopolhuja totecujo: ca ixquich no ic amotetzinco nonnocauhtiuh, vel onietiuh in noiollo.

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1. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xliii, fol. 214: *Inaliuanoh inapopoch in ceuitique*; the corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Esta es la brueba y cantidad de los enojosos. Por muchapiera que sea dicho. Aquej en este lugar que sea de brueba y cantidad se pudieran primeramente nuestros antepasados, aquej hizieron primeramente sus casas de sepultura y sus casas de cassia o heno."*

Note, however, that in Book IX, cap. iii, Tzontemoctli and Çacatzontli are identified as diuers del camino.

2. In "Memoriales con Rarolas" (*Academia de la Historia MS*), p. 207, *nehuhtli* is translated *viudada*.

Then all his household wept over it. There were tearful groanings by all the old merchants, men and women. But he who could not weep only continued to sob behind the others, seeming to weep. And afterwards there was a little rejoicing, consolation, and drinking, to drive away and disperse sorrow. So afterwards all departed and went, and each one entered his own house.

Nvnan ic nechoquiiilo, in jchantlaca, nechoquiz- 441
tlapalolo, in ie muchiuian puchteca veuetque, puch- 484
teca ilamatque: auh in aca auel choca, çan teicampa
tzõtzoioontica, mochoquizcanenequj, auh çatepan
achitzin ic papacoa, neiollalilo, tlaoano, injc motla-
ocolpopaloa, motlaocoleeẽmana: ic çatepan netla-
tlalcaujlo, viuilo, cacalaco in techachan.

[p.68 is blank]

Ninetenth Chapter. Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.

Injc eartoffli vnnavi capitulo: vncan motenco, in ventli in qujchioaia, im impãpa vecanemja ioan injc mozcllaoaia in jpampa in mjquja.

441 And his household therupon began the penances. They let themselves become dirty. No longer did they wash their heads with soap, though they could bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: njnan iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoiotia, aocmo mãmovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo polaquj: auh nana-poaltica qujmattiuj, in mamovitiuj: injc qujnezitia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamãçeoa in jnconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jxcauhque, ixqujch cauitl iuh qujchiuhtinemj, in jquin quiçaqujuh:

441 765 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

auh intla noce omjqujto, ichoan achto caquitilo, in puchteca veuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelaoazque, in teiolpachiujtizque, ichoantin qujcalaquja in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjquito, ic qujtemachitia, injc nauilhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaoatizque in jchantlaca, injc tlapalolozque, ellaquacalozque, quimjlo-loz in inconeuh:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oqujz navilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, momjccaaltia injc compopoloa, conjilcaoa intlaccol:

441 765 778 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set up an image of him made of pine torches bound together.[2] They made and formed his image; they adorned his likeness. This *euillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla cana oiaomjc, qujtlaliaia icujllo, qucujllotia, qucujllotlalilia, ixiptla qujchichiujlia, injn Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujtzatzaianaia, çatepan qujcujtlalpia: auh ixqujch itech qujtlalia, in amatlatquitl, in amanechichioalli, in amaxicolli, in amacoz-catl, in amaneapantli, qujtlaolololtia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujtlatizque: in ie iuhquj in oqujcencauhque evillotl, in jquac ie choqujlilloz oiaomjc, oc cemjlhujtica, in jcujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in coatica: auh qujn-jquac in ioalnepantla, qujtlatiaia, vmpa in qujtocaio-tiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tzompantitlan:

1. *Quiçaqujuh*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.

2. *Euillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*su semeiança de leño, assados unos, con otros.*"

787X
825
484

Second Chapter, in which is related the evil omen which they regarded in two ways: so it was when they heard that the white hooded hawk[1] cried out; and what the merchants did when somewhere on the road such befell them; perhaps it cried out at them.

Ic ome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in çan necoc tlachiaia: in juhquj catca, in jquac qꝫ caquja, in tzatzia oactli: ioan in tlein quichioaia, puchteca in jquac cana iuhquj vtlica, in jnpan muchioaia in anoço inpan tzatzia.

Likewise they considered it an omen of evil when the white hooded hawk screeched at someone. As they said, it spoke in two [ways],[2] sometimes good and sometimes bad.

No ioan, quitetzammatia: in jĵc aca ipan veuetzca, oactli: in juh conjtoa, vme vitz quitoa: in quenman qualli, quenman amo qualli.

When it displayed good, then they heard its words which it said as it screamed: "A good time! A good time!" When this was the case, none were frightened; the travelers were in no way terrified by it. Rather, they rejoiced. It was as if their hearts were gladdened, because perhaps they would come upon something pleasing; perchance in something they would be favored; they would attain something beneficial.

In jĵc qualli quinextia, ic quicaquj in jtlatol injc veuetzca quitoa: ieccan, ieccan, in jquac, yn, amo netemmacho: atle ic momauhtia, in nenenque: çan ie papaquj: iuhquin acoyetzi in iniollo: ipampa, aço itla qualitzin, in jpan ie oniasque: aço itla ipan mopouatiuj: itla qualli, quicnopiluiznque.

But when they heard that it laughed too long, in a high pitch, — as if its bosom and side were in pain; or as if it screamed swollen with joy, [then], as if they were sick and frozen, none spoke aloud. They went with heads hanging, with necks loose. No longer [was there] control. Because of this they felt that perhaps something wueful would now betide them; they would come upon something perilous. Either some one of them would die; or sickness would come or somewhere they would be ambushed. This befell them when, perhaps, [they were] somewhere among the mountains, in a gorge, in the midst of the desert,[3] in the middle of the woods, in a thicket, within and among the trees. And if it were merchants, vanguard merchants, wayfarers, whom it befell that at them the white hooded hawk laughed, they said that perhaps now they should come upon something, or their goods would be carried away by the water, or some evil men, thieves

Auh in ie oquicacque, in juhquj oxmjmjctoc, ic vetaca, tlatlapittzaoa: in juhquj, ixillan, ijoxotlan, onquasquauhti: in juhquj, mocacanaoa, paquj, veuetzca: iuhquin ontlanavi, iuhquin oceuetzi, aocac naoati: ça tlatoliuj, ça tlaquechpiliuj, aiocmo tenaoatili: ic quimatia, aço itla ovi, inpan ie ommuchioaz: itla ouj, ie commonamjctinque: anoço ceme aca ie mjqujz: aço ie vitz cocoliaztli, anoço çana inpan, ie oalmotzaquaz. In jnpan muchioa, yn, aço cana tepetzalan, atlauhitic, ixtlaoatl itic, quauhnepantla, quauhioocatla, quauhitic, quaujtl itic: auh intla puchteca, oztomeca, nenemjnj: iuhquj inpan omochiuh, in jnpan ouevetzcac oactli: quitoaia. Aço, ie itla, coenmonamjctinque: aço ie ontlaatoctinque: anoço ie acame, tlavelilloque, inmac ie ommaqujzque, ichtecque, tetlilcujcujlique, tetlatlaçaltique, tetlanamoelique, inmac ie ontlatlaçazque, quintlacujcujlizque, quintlacencujlizque, quintlatlaçaltinque, quintlanamoelinque: anoço cana ceme, ie onquauhtenue-

1. Cf. Edward Sapir: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Frances G. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1949), Vol. IV, p. 48; he comments that this bird was thought an evil omen in traveling merchants.

2. Probably idiomatic. More literally, *ome ohtli quitoa* could be rendered "in two ways some what it said."

3. *Quauhnepantla*. Alonso de Molina, in *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), translates the term as either woods or desert.

X 787 825 484 who had escaped from their hands, who pilfered, plundered, and robbed, would now wrest goods from their hands, and plunder, strip, sack, and rob them. Or somewhere, some of them might now faint and collapse, to be cast aside. Or they would be eaten by wild animals—the fare of brutes; they would become the game of wild beasts. Or somewhere they would be encircled by, and encounter, war.

tzinque, ie onvetziaque, ie onmomaiaujtque? aoez, ie ontequancoalaque, tequàtlaqualtin, tequanjme iatlaqualhoan, ie onmochioaque: anoçe, cana inpan ie oalmotzaquaz iaoiol: ie conmonamjctiaque.

X 787 484 When this was so, he who was leader, who went commissioned leader, who proceeded as principal there along the road, then began to encourage them. He greeted his younger brethren with tears, his charges who were being taught. Along the way he instructed them and said to them:

In jquac yn, in aqujn tachcauh, in tachcauhchiuhtiuh, in tachcauh icatiuh vtlipan, vncan peoz, in qujmelaquaoz, in qujnchoqujztlapaloz, itciccaoan, itlahoapavalvan: in vtli ipan qujmixtlamachtia, qujmjlvia.

"Be of good cheer, O my sons, O my younger brothers. Of what profit is it that we are afflicted? Let no one be sad or heavy of heart. In truth for this we came: we came to die; so went our hearts heavy and foreboding. Thus we went from and left our homes and the houses of others:[4] our aunts, our uncles, our nephews, our elder sisters. For this reason they shed tears for us; they poured out upon us their weeping, their sorrow, that perhaps here, somewhere, on the desert, on the plains, in the gorge, in the forest, in various places will lie scattered our bones and our hair; in many places our blood, our redness, will spread, poured out and slippery. For in truth this hath been our reward. Let no one feel womanish in heart. Yield completely to death; pray to our lord. Let none think of or brood over [our condition]; for only later shall we know of whatsoever things[5] we may strike against. Then, in the end, we may weep for ourselves.

Ximellaquauacan, nopilhoune, noteiccaoane, quennel titotolinja: macaiac tlaocuja, nentlamati in jiollo, ca nel ic tioallaque, in timjqujco: ca iuh oalietia, iuh qujoalmattia in toiollo: injc ticoalalcaujque, tiquallalotique in tonca, in teca: in tauj, in totla, in tomach, in toueltiuh: ca ie injc techchoqujli, injc topan qujpiao, in ichoquja, in jtlaocul: aço cana njcan, itzlahoatl, atlauhtli itic, quavitl itic, cecemmantoz in tomjo: in tozoa, nonoqujuhtoz, aalacatoz in tezço, in totlapallo: ca nel otomacoaltic, ma caiac qujcioatlamachti in ijollo: xicmotlaquammacacan in mjqujztli, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo: ma caiac tle itic qujnemjti, qujlnamjqtij: ma ça qujn jc ticmatizque, in çaço tle itech titotzotzonativi: vncan ic oemmaian, tontochochoqujlizque:

"For truly, this is how we come giving honor[6] and luster to our lords, the merchants who lead, raising them to glory and lifting high their heads. Ere now they have gone knowing and marveling at such things. We are not then the first to discover and behold what will befall us. Strengthen your hearts, O my sons!"

ca nel ichoatl injc tiquinteiotico, tiqujmjtauhcaiotico, tiqujntonaleoaco, tiqujntzonteconacocujco intotechiuhcaoan, in puchteca, in jiaque: ca ieeppa iuh quimattivi, iuh qujmaujçotiuj, camo qujn tehoan iancujcan ie toconnextizque, ie toconjttazque, in tlein topan muchioaz: ximellaquaoacan, nopilhoune.

X 787 484 782 And if somewhere night fell, they gathered, joined, crowded, and assembled themselves somewhere at the foot of a tree or the opening of a gorge,

Auh intla cana oimpan ioac, cana quaujtl itzintlan, anoço atlauhcamac, ommololoa, ommocemololoa, ommotepeuhtitlalia, monechicoa, qujcujtlalpia, quj-

4. Probably *tzoncz* and *oncz* are to read *mocz* and *mocz*. In Bernardino de Sahagún, "Memoriales en 3 columnas," *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906). Vol. VII, p. 390, the phrase is *ya tocz, ya tocz*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"quando partiemos de nuestras casas."*

5. "Memoriales en 3 columnas," p. 391, *ahuc in quyo tle*, inserts *tlamomiccatiloni*, *in quyo tle*.

6. In *loc. cit.*, *tz* is *ciçilitzquiztica*.

and bound and tied, fastened together, and placed on the ground, all their staves, which represented their god Yiacatecutli. Here, before him, they did penances, bled themselves, cut their ears, and drew straws through them; so they only yielded to whatsoever might befall them. But no one worried or speculated whether it might befall them as the white hooded hawk had foreboded to them.

And perhaps they quite escaped, [or] perchance nothing happened to them who were then terrified when the time of their fright had occurred. If nothing befell them, their hearts were therefore again a little lifted; they raised their heads and revived their spirits; for their fates were so established that fear should no longer be with them.

But the fearful ones, the younger brothers who were not of firm fortune, not of rugged day signs, when they learned of [the omen], went fearing it. No longer were they happy; they talked no more — no longer did they speak aloud; nowhere were their hearts content. Things only worsened as they traveled; they only went engraving on their minds whatever they imagined. No longer with calm, but vainly, did they a little way follow the land; rather, they thought that perchance soon they would somewhere come upon what in truth meant the omen which had occurred and by which they had been frightened.

It hath already been said, nevertheless, that no one knew whether, indeed, it would be verified, or would not be so. For its words were understood, since it spoke in two [ways], to be good and evil.

cencujtlalpia, qujcemjlpia, qujcemmana in jntopil, in jpan qujzcoaia in intecuh: Yiacatecutli. Vncan ixpan tlamaceoa, mjço, monacaztequj, tlacoqujxtia, ça qujmocemmacatoque, in tlein inpan, ie ommuchioaz: auh aocac ontlamati, aocac itlamatia, intla iuhquj inpan muchioa, in juhquj ic oquintetzauj oactli.

787 X
484 ●
782

Auh anoçe çan maquiça, acaço tle inpan muchioa: in vncan in nemauhtiaia, in jxmaujzcujian omochiuhca. Intla ſatle inpan omochiuh, ic oc ceppa achitzin, oalmoolizcalia: oalaquetza ommoquaahiouja: ic ommotonallalilia: injc intech oacca maujztli:

787 X
484

auh in mauhcatlaca tetzicoaoa, in amo tonalchicaoaque, in amo tonallapaliuj: ça ie in qujmattiuj, in qujmamattiuj: aocmo paquj, aocmo tlatoa, aocmo naoati, aoccan aujx in jiollo: ça tlanauhtiuj, in nenemj, ça imjtic tlacujcujlotiuj, in tleinmach qujlnamiquj: aincmo iujian, in oc nen achi quitoca tlalli: ça ie in qujmati, sço quin cana in ie commonamjctizque, in tlein vel qujtoznequj, intetzauh omochiuh: injc omotetzaujque.

Ie omjto, tel aiac qujmati, in aço vel neltiz: in acanoçomo, ca itlatol itech mocaquj: injc ome vitz qujtoa, qualli ioan amo qualli.

[p 156 is blank]